PAST PRESIDENTIAL NOMINA-BY JAMES PARTON.

Continued from the last issue of THE EVENING The Whig party took an unusually early tart in that celebrated campaign, still so well emembered. Its nominating convention was eld at Harrisburg, in December, 1839, even months before the election. Three indidates were presented for its consideram, one civilian and two soldiers, Henry lay, General Harrison, and General Scott. Ir. Clay, as the founder and chief of the Whig party, its most brilliant orator and most ustrious name, would naturally have been be candidate selected, and a large plurality of se delegates were most warmly devoted to his iterests. The party expected his nomina-on. The younger Whigs, however, and ome older ones, whose motives were less diserested, brought against him the objection at he had once been signally defeated, and sey urged upon the Convention to borrow a svice from the tactics of their opponents, d nominate a soldier. After three days of effectual balloting, the friends of Harrison and Scott united, and, to the inexpressible error of the Whig party, General Harrison ceived the nomination. Mr. Clay promptly and gallantly acquiesced. General Harrison as elected by two hundred and thirty-four ectoral votes to sixty for Mr. Van Buren.

The Whig victory, the first national triumph Hamiltonian principles since 1796, was not

Hamiltonian principles since 1796, was not se to General Harrison's military reputation, it, as before remarked, to the commercial abarrassments of the country, and, in some gree, to a national revolt of a free people ast overstrained wire-pulling. Fortunately the country as it proved, the triumph the country as it proven, the carly death the amiable Harrison placed the overnment in the hands of John pler, an old Virginia Republican, who reained true to his former opinions and to his herited instincts, and thus prevented the retablishment of a national bank, and that mplete reinstatement of the Hamiltonian stem to which Mr. Clay was committed. it, on the other hand, he was a weak and ort-sighted person, who sought to use the tronage of his place to secure his own re-ection. How ridiculously he falled in the oject last named is fresh in the recollection most of us. A President fully supported his party, and supporting his party, is aster of the situation; a President estranged m his party may obstruct and hinder its basures; but he is curiously impatient to atify his personal ambition.

From 1844 to 1860 the tactics of the Demoatic party seem, to the casual observer, torbus and inconsistent. In reality, they were t so. At every nominating convention, the ruggle for the ascendancy was essentially e same, and even the leading competitors are generally the same. The controlling wer d the party, during those sixteen portan years, was the small, compact band Southern men who had adopted the opinions Mr. Cahoun, and the main object of whose licy was to keep the General Government bservient to the interests of the owners of aves. This was not Mr. Calhoun's object. is ain was the Presidency; but the men hom heled always kept their personal amtion sibordinate to the darling interest hich thy represented and served. And this as the secret of their power. It was behey could always be counted a thit on every question relating slavey, that so small a band of men ere abl, for so many years, to control, abso-dely an at every moment, the course of a reat naional party. During those sixteen

ation, t was because they had first rejected

m in seret caucus; if a candidate was nomiated, itvas because he had first been the ighest lider for their support. The sol of this faction, as long as he lived, d longe was John C. Calhoun, of South clina. It was as far back as 1828 that he ceivedihe scheme of making an issue which ald unte the South in his support, without stroyin himself in the North. The first of his kind, as every one knows, was r. Clay protective system, of which Calun had een one of the defenders in 1816. he nullifiation excitement was one of the ults. was in every sense a failure—since ullificatin was not merely crushed by meral ackson and Daniel Webster, but it ailed to nite the South in support of its author, nd totall and forever destroyed his standig as a statesman. Blinded, however, by mostegregious vanity that ever led a ortal aray, he renewed the attempt, and maginedie had found an issue so broad and opular tat he could easily ride upon it into he Presential mansion. This was the anexation of Texas, which was sprung upon e county towards the close of Mr. Tyler's rm. To those who desire the fullest inmation respecting the manœuvres of Mr. alhoun a making Texas the issue of the esidentil election in 1844, we recommend e perual of the one hundred and thirtychater of Colonel Benton's "Thirty Why should Colonel Benton Viw. 11 bea so learned upon this subthe main was because the movement was to put wn Main Van Buren, and exalt John C. alhoun t his place, at the head of the De-The suppression of Mr. Van pogratic arty. aren detroyed the prospects of his heir. his, doutless, was one of the reasons why

vicity ail emphasis. tinter of 1842, he tells us, nearly no years bfore the expiration of Mr. Tyler's m, there appeared in a Baltimore paper a letter rging the immediate annexation Texas, it the reason that, if we did not mex it, Egland would. It was written by Gilmer, a member of Congress from Virsis, a paricular friend and ally of the great ellifier of South Carolina, and himself one the few Millifiers of Virginia.

slonel Baton, as he tells us, "put an eye" on

he movement, and acquired the intimate and

tensive knowledge of the Texan intrigue

hich he inparts to his readers with so much

"Putting Ill these circumstances together," ars Colone Benton, "I believed, the moment awit, the I discerned the finger of Mr. thoun in that letter, and that an enterprise some king was on foot for the next Presitial election, though still so far off. I seefore pu, an eye on the movement, and observing the progress of the letter, the pers in which it was republished, their ents, the encomiums which it received, of the public meetings in which it was comd. I became satisfied that there was no stake in referring its origin to that gentleand became convinced that this moveent was the resumption of the premature abortive attempt of 1836. In the course the summer of 1843, it had been taken generally in the circle of Mr. Calhoun's and with the zeal and pertinacity ich betrayed the spirit of a Presidential Coincident with these symptoms, pdicative of a determined movement on Texas question, was a pregnant circumin the executive branch of the Govern-Mr. Webster, who had been prevailed on to remain in Mr. Tyler's Cabinet when He opposed it on the usual grounds: First, his colleagues of 1841 left their places,

now resigned this place also-induced, as it was well known, by the altered deportment of the President towards him; and was succeeded first by Mr. Legare, of South Carolina, and, on his early death, by Mr. Upshur, of Virginia."

By a series of adroit manœuvres, the man in the world who most desired the election of Martin Van Buren, and was most opposed to the elevation of Calhoun, was made to endorse a movement which had for its sole object the frustration of Mr. Van Buren's hopes and the gratification of Mr. Calhoun's ambi-The managers even endeavored to enlist the cooperation of Colonel Benton, who had always been a Texas man, who had opposed its relinquishment, had tried to get it back, and was in favor of its acquisition. But, knowing the real object of the scheme, he bluntly said, when he was approached, that it was an intrigue for the Presidency and a plot to dissolve the Union, and that he was against it. The plot went on, nevertheless, and the avowed purpose, the public object, the annexation, was accomplished. But as to Mr. Calhoun, his elevation to the Presidency was never so much as thought of by the Democratic party, or by any members of it except his own immediate circle of friends and allies.

In May, 1844, the Convention of the Democratic party met at the city of Baltimore. Mr. Van Buren, beaten in 1840, claimed the nomination in 1844, because he had been defeated through the firmness with which he had maintained party principles, amid circum-stances of peculiar trial. The party generally admitted his claim, and a decided majority of the delegates went to the Convention instructed to vote for him. But he was against the immediate annexation of Texas, and the Southern faction were resolved upon his defeat, which they accomplished by two ingenious, audacious, and original tricks. As soon as the Convention had assembled, but before it was organized, before the papers of the delegates had been examined, before prayers, before a permanent chairman had been appointed, a motion was introduced requiring a concurrence of two-thirds of the delegates to effect a nomination. The friends of Van Buren saw the game, and resisted it, but they resisted it in vain. The motion was carried, and it was death to Mr. Van Buren's

Next to Mr. Van Buren, the most prominent candidate was Lewis Cass, recently returned from his mission to France, who had publicly committed himself to the policy of immediate annexation seventeen days before the Convention met. The Southern chiefs accepted this bid for their support; Cass was their man. It soon appeared, however, that Mr. Van Buren was too strong a candidate to be easily set aside, and it proved still more difficult to elect a candidate to whom his real friends were unchangeably opposed. Upon the first ballot, Van Buren received one hundred and forty-six votes, which was twenty-four more than a majority; Cass received eighty-three votes; Richard W. Calbourg and Calbourg and control of the control M. Johnson, twenty-four; Calhoun, six; and seven votes were scattered. After many in-effectual ballotings, and after a struggle, within and without the Convention, of almost unparalleled intensity, it became evident that neither Van Buren nor Cass could ever command, in that Convention, a vote of twothirds of the whole number. To insure Mr. Van Buren's defeat, another political trick was then devised, of which Cave Johnson, of Tennessee, was the originator. This trick was the introduction of a candidate entirely new, too insignificant to have been the object of controversy, and, at the same time, known to be devoted to the Texan scheme, or any other measure designed to favor the planting interest. James K. Polk, of Tennessee, who had been thought of for the Vice-Presidency by the friends of Mr. Van Buren, was the man selected. The device was highly ingenious the man was well chosen; and it was managed in such a way that Mr. Van Buren's own State was made to seem to take the lead in it. After one or two experimental ballotings, Mr. Polk received the unanimous vote of the Convention. The defeated rivals hastened to give their assent; Mr. Polk secretly bound himself to the suppression of the indomitable Blair and the troublesome Globe, so hostile to Mr. Calhoun; the Nulliflers triumphed, and the Democratic party was kept united. The people ratified these proceedings by electing Mr. Polk to the Presidency, although by an exceedingly

small popular majerity. It seemed hard to many of us, then, to set aside the brilliant, the honorable, the patriotic Henry Clay, and choose in his place the weak and pliant tool of a traitorous faction, determined to rule or ruin. But, even at this short distance of time, we can begin to discern that then, as ever, the American people made a decision which, upon the whole, was the best they were permitted to make. If Mr. Clay had been elected, we should have had another series of efforts to reëstablish and destroy a national bank, and no one can say to what lengths he might not have gone in fastening upon the country a protective system still more rigorous cramping, and obstructive than that from which we have since suffered. During one short term, he might have held in suspended animation the great controversy between the North and the South; would have revived in all its fury, and swept him away, in 1848. Polk, on the contrary, by precipitating annexa-tion, at the price of war with Mexico, may be said to have created the political party which finally, at such an expense of blood and treasure, broke the power of the Southern oligarchy, set free their slaves, and made the United States a nation.

Mr. Van Buren had his revenge. His friends considered that Mr. Cass, in permitting his name to be used against Mr. Van Buren, in the Convention of 1844, and especially in not withdrawing his name when it became certain he could not be nominated, had violated both the usages of the Democratic party and the courtesies of public life. He resented it accordingly; his friends resented it; and especially, his son John. In May, 1848, nominating Convention of the cratic party assembled at Baltimore, and again Lewis Cass was the highest bidder for the support of the controlling Southern faction. The inextinguishable controversy between slavery and freedom had assumed a new phase. The "Wilmot Proviso" was the question of the day. Many Northern Democrats were growing restive under the domination of the planters, and every man of mind and conscience among them felt the enormous shame and gross impolicy of extending the area of slavery through the instrumentality of a party founded in the interests of universal freedom; or, as Mr. Van Buren has expressed it, the Democrats of the North were beginning to question the right of Democrats in the South to demand the support of measures and principles, "in sustaining which they could not be sustained at home." Lewis Cass, however, was not one of these. A few months before the assembling of the Convention, he published his once celebrated "Nicholson Letter," in which he committed himself against the "Wilmot Proviso," the principle of which he had once supported.

ble territory; and, secondly, as needless, since slavery was not likely to be introduced into the provinces which Mexico was about to cede. Avowing that he had changed his opinion on the subject, he said, in his justification, that public opinion had also changed. The Southern lords once more took his bid. So far as depended on them, he had his reward. On the fourth ballot of the Baltimore Convention he received the requisite two-thirds vote, which made him the Democratic candidate for

the Presidency. But it was not written in the book of destiny that Lewis Cass should ever be the President of the United States. Among those, as we have just observed, who had most keenly resented the conduct of Mr. Cass, in 1844, was John Van Buren, son of the ex-President. The father was happy and contented enough upon his farm at Kinderhook, where he expended the income of a considerable estate in scientific agriculture, and a part of his leisure in calmly reviewing the political history of the country. Having little rancor in his composition, and being in truth a steadfast Democrat, Martin Van Buren would never, if left to himself, have interfered to prevent the election of his rival. His son John, however, was a man of different mettle. Not very successful in the profession of the law, nor auch inclined to the plodding industry by which alone success in it is gained, a free liver and boon companion, without serious convictions on any subject, he threw himself into politics as a recreation and an amusement. He it was who had most to do with organizing the Freesoil party of 1848, which nominated for the Presidency Martin Van Buren. "The old man" not only did not advise the movement, but was not even aware of his son's intention, until the nomination was announced to him. Colonel Benton took the alarm, and went to New York to endeavor to get the Freesoil or-ganization abandoned. He might have succeeded with the father, but he could not influence the son; and it was the son who prevailed upon the father to accept a nomination which he did not desire, and of which he did not approve. By exertions upon the stump seldom equalled either in amount or audacity, John Van Buren drew off a sufficient number of voters in New York to give the State to General Taylor. The defection of New York defeated Cass, elected Taylor, and avenged the

house of Van Buren. What a lesson to politicians was the result of this election! In playing the Presidential game they had precipitated the country into a needless war with Mexico, and that war raised up a victorious general to snatch the ill-gotten sceptre from their hands. The fomenting of a war for political objects is at once the greatest crime and the greatest mistake which it is possible for a politician to commit; since a needless war, besides being a national calamity and a shame, is sure to bring forward a crowd of popular soldiers to push the politicians from their seats .- Northern Monthly and New Jersey Magazine for August. [To be continued in September.]

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COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA

DUE JULY 1, 1868.

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ONE MILLION OF DOLLARS OF THE

Loans of this Commonwealth DUE JULY 1, 1868.

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Loan of March 30, 1830, due March 4, 1858.

February 16, 1833, due July 1, 1858.

March 27, 1833, due July 1, 1858.

January 26, 1839, due July 1, 1859. June 7, 1839, due August 1, 1859.

March 30, 1832, due July 1, 1860, April 5, 1832, due July 1, 1860.

prior to July 2, 1860. All of the above LOANS will cease to draw interest after August 15, 1867.

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